1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of *piquí* trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also clearer of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piqui* fruit (*teinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piqui* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piqui*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratifica-
556 tion based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
626 cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
433 of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
621 unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
226 to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
262 were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
462 who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
263 the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
439 and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
285 Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
415 and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered.

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft.

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation.

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand."

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed.

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
● 415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
296 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- præputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

Trumai SP23
Waujra SP18
Mehinacu
Aueto SP 6
Camayurá

/287 cont./

A W 352 532 825 chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like. The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed. Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts

Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumaí stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks

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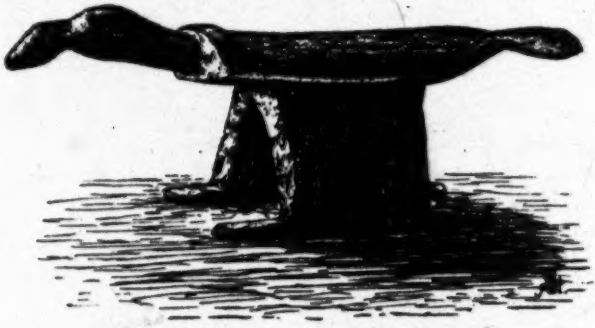

Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

T 352 532 825 171 and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast, T [386] 415 the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on P. 327]